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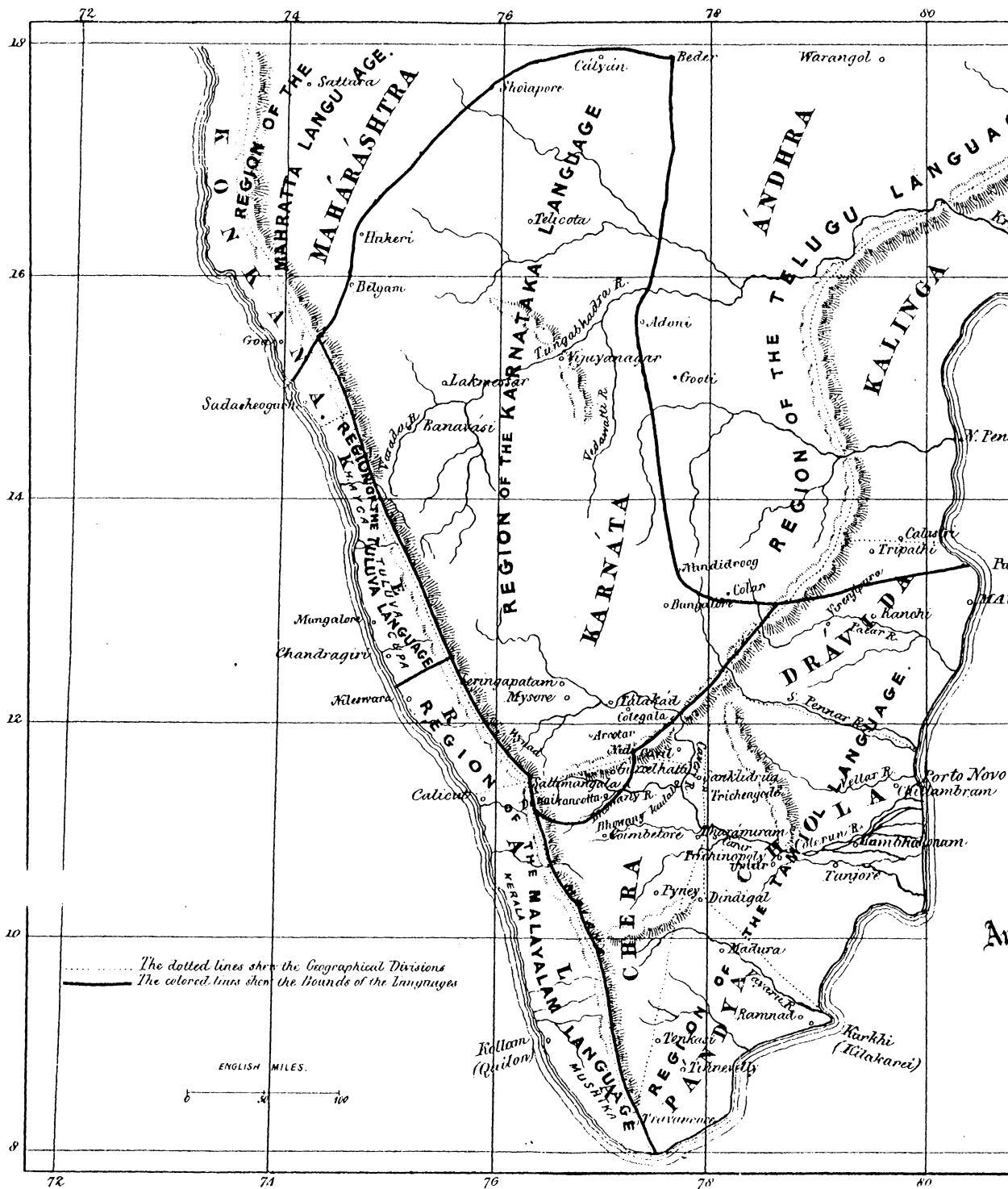
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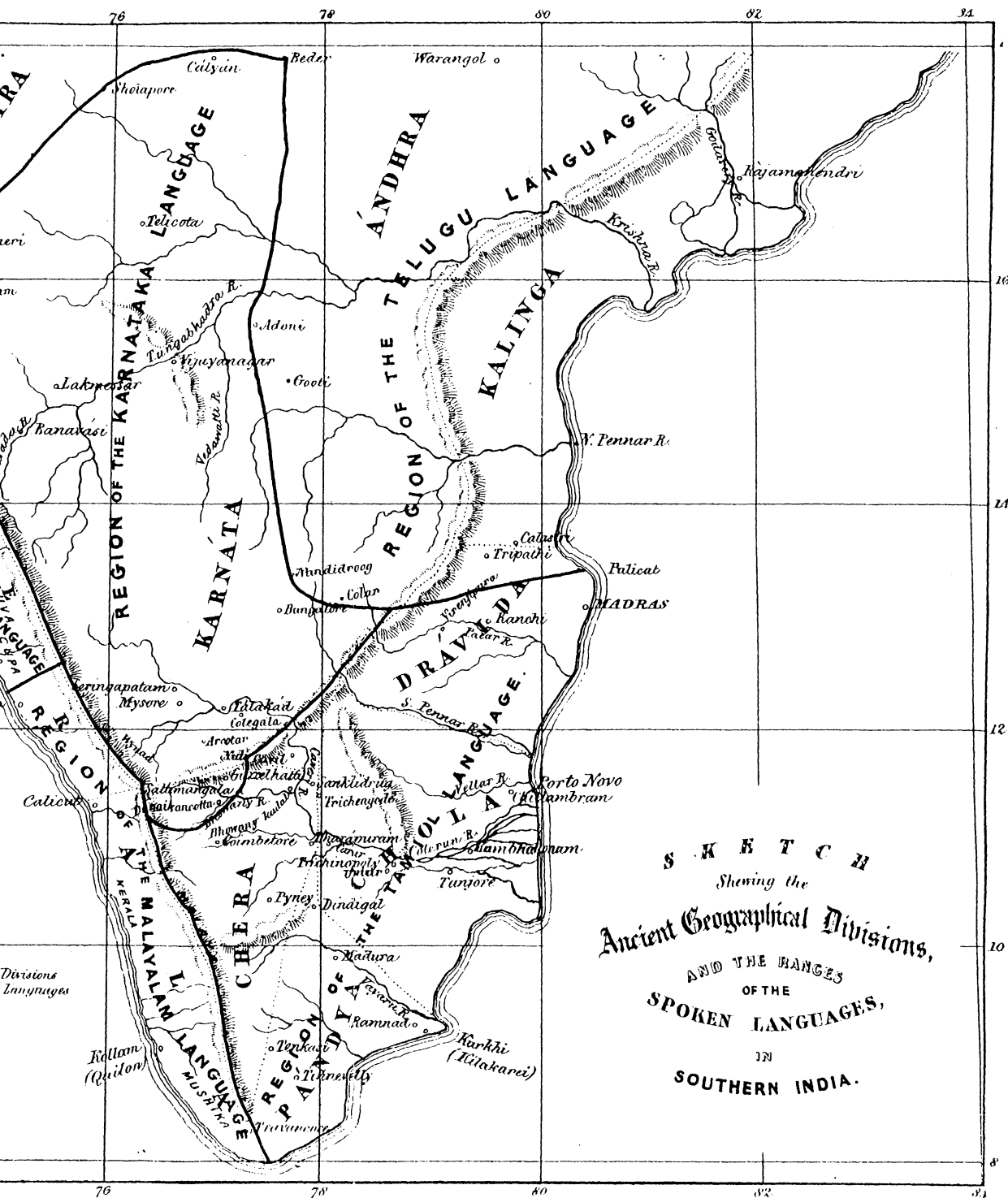
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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. I.—*On the Geographical Limits, History, and Chronology of the Chera Kingdom of Ancient India, by MR. J. DOWSON.*

TRADITION and native records represent the southern portion of the Indian peninsula as being anciently divided into three contemporary kingdoms. 1. The Pándya. 2. Chola or Sora. 3. Chera, Sera or Konga. Of the first, a valuable account has been supplied by Professor Wilson, in Vol. III. of the Society's Journal; and of the other two, slight sketches have been given by the same learned writer, in the Introduction to his Catalogue of the M'Kenzie Collection: a more detailed notice of the last is the object of this paper.

The notices of this kingdom which have been published, have been drawn chiefly from a Tamil memoir, in the M'Kenzie Collection, called "*Konga desa Charitra*," or "*Konga desa Rájákkal*," of which a translation exists in the Library at the East India House; it has been noticed, in Professor Wilson's Catalogue, at p. 199, Vol. I., and in page 1 of the Rev. W. Taylor's Analysis of that Collection.

This Memoir gives the history of the Chera dynasty, of those Chola monarchs who held the country of Chera by conquest, and also of the Hoyisála or Bellála and the Vijayanagara dynasties, into whose power it successively fell. It is the only paper in the collection from which any useful notices of the Chera monarchs can be obtained, and the history of that dynasty rests at present mainly upon it. In style it is stated to be very different from the generality of Hindu writings of this class, and independently of its being our only authority, it merits a fuller notice than has yet been given of it. From the before-mentioned translation, the following Abstract of the first portion which relates to the Chera dynasty and its Chola conquerors, has been prepared, in which all important and useful information on that subject has been retained; the parts relating to the Bellála and Vijayanagara kings will be useful in any future accounts of those dynasties, but are unnecessary for our present purpose.

The Rev. W. Taylor speaks of this memoir in high terms of commendation: he made a translation of the whole of it, which he intended for insertion in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society;" it has however never appeared. In his Analysis of the M'Kenize Collection, he says it "is for the most part free from the mythological fable which usually disfigures Hindu documents, and is well supported by dates, in general referred to inscriptions which are mentioned, and many grants of land are specified with such reference. On the whole this is one of the best, and most valuable manuscripts in the collection." In qualification of this praise however, it must be observed that, the accounts it gives of the Hoyisála and Vijayanagara kingdoms differ in some instances from others, particularly in reducing the number of kings; and that implicit credence cannot be given to the dates in the first Part, will be seen from the observations which follow the Abstract; those of the second and third Parts appear to be tolerably correct.

The translation of this document in the volume of MSS. at the India House, is preceded by an introductory note, and an analysis of the first part relating to the Chera desa; to these no name is attached, but they are evidently the work of an European. The introductory matter supplies some valuable geographical information, which has been incorporated into the following observations upon that subject.

We will now give the abstract of the memoir, reserving further comment for the inquiry which will follow it.

1. The first king, named Sri Vira Rája Chakravartí, was born in the city of Skandapura, and was of the Reddy<sup>1</sup> or Ratta tribe (culam), and of the Súrya vamsa (solar race); he obtained the government of the country and ruled with justice and equity.

2. Govinda Rája, son of Vira Rája, was the next king.

3. Krishna Rája, son of Govinda Rája, ruled next.

4. Kála Vallabha Rája, son of Krishna Rája, was next in succession.

Of these kings nothing more than their equity, justice, and renown is recorded.

5. Govinda Rája, son of Kála Vallabha, was the fifth in succession; he conquered the hostile rajas, exacted tribute from them, and ruled his country with justice and renown. This king made a grant of land to a Jaina Brahman, named Aristánu, for the performance of worship in the Jaina basti (temple) of Kongani Varma, in Vaisákha, A. Sál. 4,—year of the cycle, Subhánu (A.D. 82).

6. Chaturbhúja Kanara Deva Chakravartí succeeded; he was of the

<sup>1</sup> A Telugu tribe. See Ellis's *Mirasi Right*, p. xii.

same race, but his parentage is not mentioned. He is stated to have had four hands<sup>1</sup>; he was versed in the art of archery and various sciences, and ruled with equity and renown, "obtaining the honorary insignia of all the other rajas."

A jaina named Nága Nandi, a learned and venerable man, was minister to the three last named rajas.

7. Tiru Vikrama Deva Chakravartí I., son of Chaturbhúja Kanara, succeeded, and was installed in A. Sál. 100 (A.D. 178), at Skandapura. The celebrated Sankaráchárya (called in the MSS. Sankara Deva) came to this king and converted him from the Jaina to the Saiva faith. After his conversion he marched into the southern country and conquered the Chola, Pándya, Kerala, and Malayálma countries, after which he returned. He made many grants in charity and in encouragement of the learned; a deed of grant, dated Vaisákha-sud A. Sál. 100,—year of the cycle, Sidhárthi (A.D. 178), to Narasimha Bhatt, Guru, of the Bharadwája gotra, is stated to be in the temple of Sankara Deva, at Skandapura. This king governed the Karnáta as well as the Konga desa.

8. Kongani Varma Ráya succeeded; he was of the Konávar or Konváyan tribe and Ganga kula, and was installed at Vijaya Skandapura in A. Sal. 111,—year of the cycle, Pramodíta (A.D. 188), and reigned for fifty-one years; he exacted tribute from many rajas whom he conquered, and "by his munificence and charity cleared away the sins of his predecessors of the Ganga race;" his title was *Srimat Sampati Kongani Varma Dharma Mahádhi Ráya*.

9. *Srimat Mádhava Mahádhi Ráya*, son of Kongani Varma, succeeded, and was installed in the government of the Konga desa, at Skandapura; he was learned in all the sciences and maxims of justice, ruled with equity, and was renowned for his munificence to the learned and the poor.

10. *Srimat Hari Varma Mahádhi Ráya*, son of Mádhava Ráya, succeeded; he was installed at Skandapura, but "resided in the great city of Dalavanpura, in the Karnáta desa." He exacted tribute from many different rajas, and was renowned as an eminent hero among all kings; he ruled according to the maxims of polity, and being very wealthy made many grants of land, one of which is recited, viz., a grant of land in Tagatúr, a petta (suburb) of Tálakád to the Brahmans for the worship of Múlasthán Iswara in that place, dated Panguni, A. Sal. 210,—year of the cycle, Saumya (A.D. 288).

<sup>1</sup> The writer of the MSS. has evidently understood the title *Chatur-bhúja*, "four armed," as having a personal and literal reference to this prince; it is however a title of Vishnu, which is frequently assumed by his followers.

11. Vishnu Gopa Mahádhi Ráya, son of Hari Varma, succeeded, and was installed at Tálukád or Dalavanpura; he conquered the *Púrva-dik* (eastern country) and was renowned as a great warrior; he made many grants to Brahmans and to the poor, and being a zealous votary of Vishnu, erected many temples to that deity; hence he derived his name of "Vishnu Gopa." "The Konga and Karnáta desas were both under his command:" having no children he adopted a lad of his own race, named him Mádhava, and resigned the crown to him.

12. Mádhava Mahádhi Ráya, adopted son of Vishnu Gopa, was installed at Dalavanpura, and ruled for some time under the orders of his father; but a son being born to Vishnu Gopa, that son was installed in the government.

13. Krishna Varma Mahádhi Ráya, son of Vishnu Gopa, was installed at Dalavanpura, and on that occasion he granted some "countries near the Kanavái and the mountains to his adoptive brother, Mádhava Mahádhi Ráya, who had lately ruled;" he governed the kingdom equitably; he was a zealous votary of Siva, and having set up a Linga at Dalavanpura granted some lands for its support: he had no son.

14. Dindikára Ráya, son of Kúláti Ráya, of the family of Vishnu Gopa's adopted son Mádhava, ruled for some time, but was deposed by he Mantri Senápati of the late rája, who installed

15. Srimat Kongani Mahádhi Ráya, son of Krishna Varma's younger sister, in A. Sál. 288,—year of the cycle, Parábhava (A.D. 366). This prince was learned in sciences and in languages, "he conquered all the desas and took tribute from their rájas," and granted many charities. A person named Yárachandra Dindikára Ráya, who had some desas under his charge during the reign of this king, made a grant of the villago of Parola-kanúr near Alúr gráma.

16. Dúrvanítí Raya, son of Kongani Raya II., succeeded and ruled the Konga and Karnáta desas. This prince is represented to have been deeply versed in magic and the use of mantrams; by repeating the mystical word om when his enemies were drawn up against him, they were enervated and dispirited, so that he obtained easy victories over them. He conquered the countries of Kerula, Pándya, Chola, Drávida, Andhra, and Kalinga, and exacted tribute from the rajas thereof; all hostile kings were afraid of him, and hence he was called Doony Veeroota Ráya (Dharma virodhi, or Punya virota) the unjust Ráya.

17. Múshakára Ráya, son of Dúrvanítí, succeeded, he was learned in the military art, and took tribute from those rájas whom his father had conquered, keeping them in subjection and fear. He resumed the

grants which had been made to the Brahmans and the poor; and hence he obtained the title of *Brahmahatya Rāya*.

18. *Tiru Vikrama II.*, son of *Múshakāra*, succeeded; he was a learned man and well versed in the science of government; "he obtained possession of all the *desas*," and ruled them with justice.

19. *Bhú Vikrama Rāya*, son of *Tiru Vikrama* succeeded, and was installed in A. Sál. 461,—year of the cycle, *Sidhārthi* (A.D. 539). He ruled the two countries of *Kongu* and *Karnāta*, and conquered many other countries. From the great number of elephants which he procured, the title of *Gajapati* was given to him; he had several weapons made of ivory which he kept by him as trophies of victory. He maintained all the charitable and religious grants which had been made by his ancestors in the countries which they had conquered, as well as in the *Chera* and *Karnāta* countries.

20. *Kongani Mahādhi Rāya III.*, succeeded his father *Bhú Vikrama*, and governed the countries with justice and equity. He made his brother commander of his armies, and several *rājas* having refused to pay tribute, he collected his armies and conquered the *Chola*, *Pándya*, *Drávida*, *Andhra*, *Kalinga*, *Varada*, and *Mahāráshttra* *desas*, as far as the *Nerbudda* river, and took tribute from them; he then returned to his capital, *Dalavanpura*, which he strongly fortified, and made many benefactions. The title of *Bhú Vikrama Rāya* was taken by him. He acted in these campaigns, and in the government of the country, under the advice of his youngest brother *Vallavagi Rāya*.

21. *Rāja Govinda Rāya* succeeded his father, and ruled the country with equity and renown, subduing all the hostile *rājas*. He was "esteemed a most pure person in the *Gangakula*," and from his attachment to the *Lingádhári* sect, was called *Nandi Varma*. This prince resided for some time at the city of *Muganda-pattana*.

22. *Sivaga Mahá Rāya*, brother of *Govinda Rāya*, succeeded; he was installed at *Dalavanpura*, but resided for some time at *Muganda-pattana*, ruling the kingdom justly. In A. Sál. 591,—year of the cycle, *Pramodáta* (A.D. 668), he made a grant of the village called *Halihalli* to a learned Brahman of *Drávida* *desa*.

23. *Prithivi Kongani Mahādhi Rāya*, grandson (son's son) of *Sivaga*, succeeded; his commander-in-chief, *Purusha Rāya*, conquered the hostile *rājas*, and the king conferred upon him a grant of twelve villages near *Skandapúra*, and the title of *Chavurya Parama Narendra Senádhapati*, in *Chaitra*, A. Sál. 668,—year of the cycle, *Pārthiva* (A.D. 746). This king ruled the country in felicity, and was known by the title *Siva Mahá-rāja*.

24. *Rāja Malla Deva I.*, son of *Vijayáditya Rāya*, younger brother of



Prithivī Kongani Rāya, succeeded, and ruled the Konga and Karnāta desas. This prince always dressed with magnificence and elegance. He is recorded to have made a grant to his Senādipati "of twelve villages belonging to Vijaya Skandapura, situated above the Kanavāi, along with Vijaya Skaudapura." The mantris of his tribe, the nobility, and the Mallikārjuna Swāmi, were declared witnesses to the grant.

25. Ganda deva Mahā-rāya, son of Malla-deva, succeeded; he was a powerful prince, and obtained the different insignia of all the rajas. He fought with the Drāvīda Raja in Kānobi desa, defeated him and exacted tribute from the country; he fought also with the Chola Raja, "into whom he carried terror, and afterwards established amity with him." He maintained a friendship with the Pāndya Raja, and was renowned among the Ganga-kula for protecting the kingdom.

26. Satya Vākya Rāya succeeded his father Ganda deva, and ruled the kingdom in equity and justice, punishing the wicked and protecting the good. He was never failing in truth, hence he obtained the title of Satya Vākya Rāya (the truth-speaking king).

27. Gunottama Deva, brother of Satya Vākya, was installed at Dalavanpura; he ruled the kingdom in an equitable manner, allowing many charities, and maintained friendship with the other rajas.

28. Malla Deva Rāya II., younger brother of Gunottama, succeeded during the life-time of the latter, whom he is stated to have kept at Vijaya Skandapura. This king was a very valiant man and defeated the Pāndya Raja, who had attacked him.

In the reign of this prince, his brother Gunottama made a grant of land in Ani, A. Sal. 800,—year of the cycle, Vikari (A.D. 878), to a Jaina, for the performance of worship to a Jaina deity.

On the 7th Vaisākha sud, A. Sal. 816,—year of the cycle, Ananda (A.D. 894), a person named Tirumalayan, built a temple, and to the west of it erected an image of Vishnu, which he called Tirumala Deva, upon some land "in the midst of the Cávéry," where in former times the western Ranganād Swāmi had been worshipped by Gautama Rishi, but which was then entirely overrun with jungle. This place he called Śrī Ranga pattana (Serīngapatam).

#### CHOLA CONQUEST.

29. Vijaya Rāya Aditya Varma, son of Vijayada<sup>1</sup> Rāya, who had been installed at Tanjore as King of the Chola-desa, came into the Chera-desa, conquered the "Vedra"<sup>2</sup> Rajas thereof, reduced the capital

<sup>1</sup> The introductory note calls him "Virata."

<sup>2</sup> A tribe of hunters, said to be the aborigines of the peninsula.

Tálakád, and governed the country. He made many charitable grants in Chera.

30. Vira Chola<sup>1</sup> Ráya, son of Aditya Varma, was installed at Tanjore, and became King of the Chera and Karnáta desas. He was a very valiant man and conquered many desas; hence he obtained the title Vira (hero), and from being a zealous follower of Vishnu he was called Náráyana; thus, Vira Chola Náráyana. "He and the Pándya Raja both conquered many desas; he went to Sinhala desa and conquered the raja thereof, thereby obtaining great fame." He granted many agraphárams in free gift to Brahmans; one situated on the banks of the Cávéry in Chola-desa, was named Vira Náráyanapur. He one day saw on the sea-shore the Subhápáti of Chillambara (Siva), attended by Párvatí, dancing and beating the damaraka (a kind of drum); he therefore expended great sums of money in building the Kanaka or golden Sabhá. Having many sons, he appointed Dásoditya Ráya to be King of the Chola-desa, and Arunjeya Ráya to the Drávida desa, and died.

31. Dásoditya Ráya was installed at Tanjore, and then performed the installation of his elder brother, Arunjeya Ráya, as King of the Drávida desa. He ruled the Chera country in an equitable and charitable manner; he granted four agraphárams on the Cávéry, and named them Chatur samudram; he died childless.

32. Parandaka Ráya, son of Dásoditya's brother Arunjeya, conquered the Pándya raja and took tribute from him. He married a virgin named Chittiri, daughter of Chati Ráya; by her he had a son, who having conquered many enemies, was called Arimalli; he died before his father, who by the same wife had many other sons. This king granted many agraphárams, and other charities.

33. Divya Ráya, son of Parandaka, succeeded, and ruled the Drávida, Chera, and Karnáta desas. He was alarmed by Vira Pándya, who came to Tanjore to fight, but defeated him and cut off his ears, upon which the Pándya Raja returned to Madura; from this feat he was called Arititu Ráya. He then went to conquer the Uttara desa (northern country), leaving his mantri in charge of the public affairs at Tanjore, but remaining absent a long time, quarrels arose between his relations and the mantri, whose authority was unheeded; upon hearing of which, he returned and restored tranquillity, and punished those who had rebelled. After this he conquered Satya Kánakár, of the Vaitonda vamsa, and despoiled him of a great quantity of precious stones, which

<sup>1</sup> A note in the MSS. states, that "according to the Condatoor MSS. he reigned from Saliváhana 849 to 899 (A.D. 927 to 977)."

he gave to the Brahmans in charity, in order to obtain the favour of Náráyana. He caused many canals on the Cávéry to be dug, and made many charitable grants; he had no sons, he therefore installed his younger brother, Ari Vari Deva.

34. Ari Vari Deva, brother of Divya Ráya, ruled the desas of Chola, Drávida, Konga, and Karnáta. His brother, Divya Ráya, marched with an army to Madura, defeated the Pándya Raja, and forced him to take flight: he then reduced the Pándya-desa, and having plundered Virenjipuram<sup>1</sup> returned to Tanjore. The mother of the defeated and fugitive Pándya Raja, being a near relative to the Chola Raja, the latter, after having received large quantities of jewels and money, restored Madura to the Pándya king, and lived afterwards in amity with him. "The Senádhipati (commander) of the Pándya Raja, who was a near relation, came to the Chola Raja;" his name was Amra Bhojangan, and the king being pleased with him gave him the command of an army, with which he marched as far as Saha parvata to the west, and from thence into the Kerala desa, the raja of which attempted to defend the country, but Amra conquered the Kollúr, Indra-giri, and Nila-giri countries; "and that raja having lost everything, and being defenceless, embarked on ship, and fled to the islands in the midst of the ocean." By command of his master, he buried all the treasures, jewels, and whatever he had plundered, in the Kanavái sthala of Siva; Bhíma Ráya, having heard of these events, attacked him, but was defeated, and lost his son. Amra then marched into the Kalinga desa, and took tribute from the rája, and proceeded from thence to the Narmada river, where he conquered many rajas; having subdued Vaitonda Ráya, Kámaranava Ráya, Dana Pallia Bhíma Ráya, and Amán Ráya, and taken from them money, jewels, the ladies of their palaces and tribute, he returned to the raja, bringing among the plunder the golden statue of Bhíma Ráya, having planted the "victorious tiger-standard" in the Pushkama-dik (western country), on the Narmada river and on Mahendra-giri. The raja was highly pleased on seeing the treasures, and observing that his grandfather had built only a Kanaka Sabhá to the Chillambara doity (Siva); he built Gopuras (spires, towers), Maddals, (inclosures), Mandapams (image-houses), and Sabhás (holy places or apartments), and granted many jewels to the deity. He resided at Tanjore, and ruled both the Konga and Karnáta desas, making numerous grants of land and other donations. He made a grant of the village of Káriyūr, in Tálakád, to the north of the Chera desa, in agrapharam to the Brahmans of Tálakád, placing Vaisyas

<sup>1</sup> There is a place of this name in the Drávida desa; it is situated a little to the west of Vellore.

in charge of it, and called it Rájá-rája-pura. He thus made many grants on the 5th Mágha sud, A. Sal. 926,—year of the cycle, Viswavásu (A.D. 1004).

The notice of the Chola dynasty here ends abruptly, and the MS. proceeds to the history of the Bellála rulers.

THE first point of inquiry which presents itself is that which relates to the Geography of the Chera Kingdom; its boundaries, the situation of its capitals, and the locality of the several desas and cities, which are mentioned in the preceding paper; referring more particularly to countries which were under the Chera rule.

The boundaries and extent of Chera, as defined by Tamil classic writers, are given in the second volume of the Rev. W. Taylor's *Translations of Historical MSS.*<sup>1</sup>, in the following words:

#### STANZA SUPPOSED TO BE BY AVYAR.

“The northernmost place is Pazhani (Pyney), the most eastern is Chengodu (Trichengode), the most western is Kozhikudu, on the south is the shore of the sea; in all eighty kadam (eight hundred miles), is called the boundary of the Sera country.”

#### STANZA BY AVYAR.

“The northernmost place is Pazhani, to the south is the southern Kasi, to the west is Kolikudu, the sea-shore on the south is called the boundary of the Chera kingdom.”

A PROSE DESCRIPTION PRESUMED TO BELONG TO MIRTANJEYA PATTAR.

“On the north Pazhani, to the east the great town (or Perúr), on the south the sea, on the west the great mountain; from east to west forty kadam (four hundred miles), from south to north forty kadam (four hundred miles), making together eighty kadam (eight hundred miles). Its revenue ten millions of pattans, of which four make a kali pan.”

To these may be added, that quoted by Professor Wilson, in his *Catalogue of the M'Kenzie Collection*<sup>2</sup>.

#### TAMIL VERSE.

“The Palini river on the north, Tencasi in Tinnavelly on the east, Malabar on the west, and the sea on the south.”

Professor Wilson, in the *Introduction to the Catalogue of the M'Kenzie Collection*, founding his description chiefly on the last verse,

<sup>1</sup> Taylor's MSS. App. vol. ii. p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Cat. i. 198.

says, "The northern limits of Chera varied at different periods, being originally placed at Palini near Dharápura, whilst at a subsequent period the capital, Dalavanpura or Tálakád, above the Mysore Gháts, indicates a considerable extension of the boundary in that quarter, and the Chera principality probably included the greater portion of Karnáta. Its eastern limits were the possessions of Chola and Pándya, and the western those of Kerala. In its early state, however, it comprehended the extreme south of the Malabar coast or Travancore, and consisted of that province, Wynád, the Nilgiri mountain district, the southern portion of Coimbatore, and part of Tinnevely. In this tract, we have in Ptolemy the people called *Carei*, and not far from it, *Carura Regia Cerebothri*, in which, making an allowance for inaccuracies of sound and expression, we have the Cheras, and Cárúr still a city in this district, and Cherapati the sovereign of Chera<sup>1</sup>."

The foregoing memorial verses are upon the whole tolerably concurrent; all four make the sea to be the southern boundary, and Calicut (Kozhikudu) or Malabar the western. The first makes Trichengode in Salem, and the last Tenkási, or the southern Kási, in Tinnevely, to be the eastern boundary; the second verse makes two southern boundaries (the sea and Tenkási), omitting entirely the eastern, we may therefore reasonably include that Tenkási is intended for the eastern; the third verse gives "Perúr" as on the frontier, but as that term means simply "great town," it cannot be definitely applied. Trichengode and Tenkási are at a great distance from each other, but each might be considered as an eastern boundary, one being situated towards the northern extremity of the kingdom, the other toward the southern; a line drawn from one to the other might therefore be considered the eastern frontier: such a line would pass a little to the west of Cárúr, mentioned by Ptolemy as included in the Chera desa; and this town was, as Colonel Wilks informs us, so near the frontier, that it was alternately in the possession of the Chera, Chola, and Pándya sovereigns<sup>2</sup>. The northern frontier cannot be so easily settled; the first three verses give Pazhani as the boundary; the fourth, however, says the Palini river (the same name but a different orthography); the Pazhani of the first three verses has been considered to be the town of that name, variously spelt Palini, Pulney, and Pyney; this town is situated in the south of Coimbatore below Dharápura, whereas, Calicut and Trichengode are both far to the northward; the Cárúr of Ptolemy is also north of it. This town then could not have been the northern boundary; the Palini river of the fourth verse may help us in dis-

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Cat. Int. p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Wilks's Sketches of Mysore History, i. p. 8.

covering the correct frontier. After diligent search no river of this name has been found; but various circumstances lead to the belief that the river Bhowany, which running eastward, falls into the Cávéry at Bhowany kudal, or as it is sometimes written Boviny Coral, a little above Erode, is intended.

The words in the lines quoted from the Tamil poetess Ayyár, as given by Mr. Taylor, are, Vadakku-talam Pazhani, *i. e.*, north the sthalam Pazhani. A sthalam is a holy place, a place where a temple is erected in honor of some deity; now we have only to suppose an easy clerical error of one letter to have crept into the verse, and we shall remove the only obstacle to the tracing of a consistent line of boundary from the accordant testimony of the authorities referred to. If we substitute *v* for *zh* in the word Pazhani we have Bhavani, (for the same symbol in the imperfect alphabet of the Tamil expresses *p* and *b* and their respective aspirates,) and Bhavani would be a legitimate feminine form of Bhavan, signifying the wife of Bhavan or Siva, the goddess Párvatí, who has given name to the sthala, still known as Bhowany. Whether this conjecture be right or not, it appears highly probable that the river Bhowany was near the northern frontier, which must in all probability have been nearly the same as that between the British district of Coimbatore and Salem and the territories of the Mysore Raja, as the following observations will show.

1. A line drawn from Calicut on the Malabar Coast to Trichengode in Salem, these places being respectively mentioned in the Tamil verses as the western and eastern boundaries, would pass in the immediate vicinity of the Bhowany river.

2. The introductory note to our MSS. informs us, that Skandapura, the capital of the Chera kingdom, was situated a short distance west of the Guzzelhaty Pass; no direct confirmation of the locality here assigned to Skandapura has been met with; it appears, however, to be verified by our MSS., which says that Tiru Vikrama (No. 7), marched southward to Chola desa, and it may therefore be admitted as correct. The situation thus given to Skandapura, and the fact of Tiru Vikrama marching southward to Chola, render it necessary to place the frontier as far north as the boundary proposed.

3. Mr. Buchanan, in the Narrative of his Mysore Journey, makes a few incidental observations which also confirm it; he mentions Sanklidrug, a little to the north of Trichengode in Salem, Satiman-gala, near Danaikancotta in Coimbatore, and Nidi Cávil, about forty miles N.N.W. of Sanklidrug, as included in the Chera desa, Nidi Cávil being as he states, upon the frontier between Chera and Karnáta<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan's Mysore Journey, vol. ii., p. 183, 185, 237 and 248.

he further mentions Colegala and Arcotár (the former of which is situated a short distance in the Mysore territories, and the latter, on the borders of Coimbatore,) as being towards the southern extremity of Karnáta<sup>1</sup>.

Concluding then upon the foregoing grounds, that the northern boundary must have been nearly the same as that of the modern Coimbatore and part of Salem; the outlines of Chera may be stated as follows:—

To the north it had the country of Karnáta, which it joined among the Ghats, nearly upon the present Mysore frontier: stretching from thence eastward it penetrated into the district of Salem as far as Sanklidrug or Trichengode: from thence it proceeded southward (Chola and Pándya being to the eastward, and the towns of Cárúr in Coimbatore and Tenkási in Tinnavelly near the frontier line,) to the coast of Travancore; and it included the western coast, as high up as Calicut in Malabar<sup>2</sup>.

The Malabar district cannot, although included in the Chera kingdom, be considered as part of the Chera desa, for it was included in the ancient Kerala desa; the northern parts of Malabar above Calicut may be regarded as remnants of the ancient Kerala kingdom, which, together with the district of Wynaúd, did not fall under the sway of the Chera rajas before the conquest of Karnáta, in which desa Wynaúd was included<sup>3</sup>.

The boundaries thus assigned to Chera, are in accordance with the general description of that country usually given, as consisting of Coimbatore and Salem<sup>4</sup>. To define, however, the boundaries of this or any other of these ancient kingdoms with exactitude is quite impossible, as they were continually varying according to the strength, ability, and ambition of their respective rulers.

The seventh king in our MSS. is represented as "ruling the country together with the Karnáta desa;" this was undoubtedly a conquest, but whether of his, or of his predecessors, we are not informed. This country is always mentioned in our MSS. as distinct from the Chera desa, although Dalavanpura or Tálekád in Karnáta, became at a later period the capital of the extended kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Buchanann's Mysore Journey, vol. ii., p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> A list of titles of the Chera, Chola, and Pándya sovereigns, (Wilson's M'Kenzie Cat., vol. ii., p. cxxix., No. 24), gives the following among fourteen titles of the Chera Rajas. "Malayaman," Lord of Malaya: "Colly verpen," Lord of the Colly mountain in Salem.

<sup>3</sup> Buchanan's Journey, vol. ii., p. 484.

<sup>4</sup> Wilks's Sketches, &c., vol. i., p. 8.; Buchanan's Journey, vol. ii., p. 183, 185, and 304.

The boundaries of ancient Karnáta are no better defined than those of Chera; it consisted of the central districts of the peninsula, including the Mysore territories of the present day. The gháts present a good natural frontier, and for some distance on the east and west are recognised as its bounds; the southern frontier appears to have joined the Chera dominions, and is therefore defined by the northern boundary of that kingdom. An inquiry into the position of the northern frontier of Karnáta is unnecessary for our present purpose, as it seems clear that the whole *desa* could never have come under the rule of the Chera monarchs, for the Kadamba dynasty ruling at Banavási by the Varada river upon the frontier between the modern Mysore and Canara, and the Chalukya monarchs, whose capital was Kályán, and whose conquests appear to have extended as far southward as Banavási, were in existence before the extinction of the Chera rule, and must have occupied a considerable portion of the north and west of Karnáta. Of the former race, Professor Wilson mentions inscriptions from A.D. 168 to 1336, throwing some doubt however upon the first date<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Walter Elliott fixes the era of one king of this line about A.D. 580 or 600<sup>2</sup>. In reference to the latter or Chalukya dynasty, Mr. Elliot remarks, that proofs have been obtained of the possession of sovereign authority by the Chalukyas, from about the middle of the fifth century of our era<sup>3</sup>.

The city of Dalavanpura or Tálakád, which under the tenth prince became the capital of the extended dominions of the Chera monarchs, was situated on the north bank of the Cávéry, about thirty miles east of Seringapatam, and immediately upon the frontiers of the present Mysore and Salem; its ruins are still known by the name of Tálakád. The introductory note to our MSS. informs us, that "it must have been a very splendid and extensive city, the Cávéry inclosing its fortifications on three sides; it was called the southern Gayá; five or six celebrated temples are still standing, many inscriptions being visible on their walls." When Mr. Buchanan visited Tálakád, he found only one temple which was dedicated to Siva, many others having been overwhelmed with sand, the tops of them alone remaining visible; an inscription upon the preserved temple he could not decipher<sup>4</sup>. Could these inscriptions have been procured, they would probably have thrown some valuable light either upon the Chera or Hoyisála dynasties, Tálakád having been at successive periods the capital of each.

Muganda-pattana, at which the twenty-first and twenty-second

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Catalogue of M'Kenzie's Collection, vol. i., Int. xeviii.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iv., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Buchanan's Mysore Journey, vol. ii., p. 162.



princes are said to have resided, was, according to the introductory note, about forty-eight miles north-east of Seringapatam, but the name cannot be traced in the maps.

By "the Kanarai" is probably intended the Guzzelhatty Pass, the word meaning in Tamil, "a narrow pass in the mountains".

The frequent reference in the MSS. before us, as well as in all native historical memorials, to the great geographical divisions of peninsular India, known to the Hindus from the earliest times, and still familiar to all among them who have any pretensions to the character of scholars, renders it desirable to take a rapid view of the limits assigned to them by the best authorities, as far as the industry of European research has been enabled to trace them. The accompanying Map will assist the understanding of the following summary.

Proceeding from Capo Comorin up the eastern side of the peninsula we have first the kingdom of Pándya, which is said to have extended from thence to the Vellar river; but here a difficulty arises, for the river of that name falling into the sea at Porto Novo, would have to the south Tanjore and Trichinopoly, the first of which is acknowledged to have been the capital, and the second, a place of importance in the Chola desa. Is it not probable that the frontier river intended was the Vayaru or Vaygaru? The frontier was probably a little higher up than the Vayaru, and extended further northward in the interior than on the coast; our introductory note says it was in the neighbourhood of Dindigal, and Colonel Wilks's observation upon Cárár before adverted to, makes it still higher than the latter place. The capital cities of Pándya were, Kurkhi, (supposed by Professor Wilson to be the Kolkhi of the Periplus), next Kalyánapur, and lastly, Madura<sup>1</sup>.

Adjoining Pándya to the northward was the Chola desa, which extended, according to the introductory note, as high up as Chillambram on the Vellar river, and according to other authorities higher up, as far as the Pennar or southern Pinakini river, which appears to be the correct line of boundary. Territories beyond both these rivers were governed by the Chola rajas, but those situated to the north of the Pennar formed part of Dravida proper. The capitals of Chola were Wariur (properly Uriúr, supposed by Professor Wilson to be the Orthoura of Ptolemy,) on the Cávéry, Kunubhakonam and afterwards Tanjore<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rottler's Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii., p. 203; Tamil verses, in Taylor's MSS., vol. ii., App. p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. i., Int., p. Lxxxi; Tamil verses, in Taylor's MSS. vol. ii., App. p. 26.

The title *Drávida* has been used in a wide sense, as including the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pándya, throughout which the Tamil language was, and is, vernacular<sup>1</sup>. But in its more restricted and proper acceptation as employed in our MSS., it designates the country which extended from the northern boundary of Chola on the Pennár river, as high up as Calastry or Tripathi; the ghats bounding it on the west and the sea on the east<sup>2</sup>. Its limits, south and north, correspond with those marked out by Mr. Ellis, in his valuable "Replies to the questions on Mirási right," as the boundaries of Tondaman-dalan. The capital was Káncchi or Kanji-puram (Conjeveram). The twenty-fifth prince in our MSS., is stated to have fought with the *Drávida Rája* in Káncchi desa; this may have been either a Chola viceroy, this desa having been conquered by the Chola rajas at an early period, or it may have been a chief possessing power in territories not then subject to the Chola rule. The assertion of our MSS. that the last Chola raja mentioned, plundered Virenjipura, a place as before stated in the neighbourhood of Vellore in this desa, would indicate that the whole of this desa was not then subject to the Chola kings.

Northward of *Drávida* were two desas, Kalinga occupying the sea-coast up to Odra or Orissa, of which the capitals were, first Srikakula (Cicacole?) and afterwards Rájamahendri; and Andhra desa occupying the interior of the country<sup>3</sup>.

Proceeding from the southern extremity of the peninsula up the western coast, Kerala in its widest sense occupied all the country below the gháts from Cape Comorin to the Konkana. This tract was however divided into four or five desas, and the term Kerala, in its proper and limited signification, appears to be applicable to modern Malabar, and according to Buchanan extended as high up as Chandragiri in Canara, where a river separated it from Tuluva<sup>4</sup>. Kerala and Malaya are by some considered to be the same, but in our MSS. they are always mentioned as distinct countries; from the meaning of the word Malaya, the mountainous districts are evidently intended.

The Konkana extended, as at present, along the coast, from the northern boundary of Kerala, below the modern Goa, to the latitude of Bombay; the Maháráshtra desa, or Mahratta country, is to the east and north of it; and Gúrjara is the modern Guzerat.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. i., Int., p. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Buchanan's Mysore Journey, vol. iii., pp. 90 and 469.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. i., Int., pp. cxvii. and cxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Ellis in Professor Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, i., p. xlv. Buchanan's Mysore Journey, vol. ii., pp. 347, 474; vol. iii., p. 14, and map in vol. i.

THE next point to which we may direct our attention is the time in which the princes recorded in our MSS. reigned. Mr. Taylor remarks in respect of our MSS. that it is well supported by dates: it is certainly true that the notices it affords of the reigns of the various sovereigns, contain a greater number of dates than is common to such tracts, yet it will be found that little use can be made of those dates without considerable modifications, though they would afford valuable data, in connexion with inscriptions recording gifts of the Chera princes, to adjust the chronology of that kingdom.

The M'Kenzie Collection contains nearly five hundred inscriptions procured in the country subject to these kings, some of which probably belong to this dynasty, but unfortunately none of them appear to have been translated.

That the dates given in the MSS. (which are mostly referred to grants of land), will not, if taken collectively, produce a result claiming our credence on the general principles applied in such cases, will appear from the following abstract.

|  | A. D. |
|--|-------|
| The Fifth king made a grant in . . . . .           | 82    |
| Seventh king installed and made grant in . . . . . | 178   |
| Eighth king installed in . . . . .                 | 188   |
| Tenth king made a grant in . . . . .               | 288   |

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. ii., App. pp. 125,6.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for April, 1839, there is a translation of a copper grant, which Mr. H. T. Prinsep conjectured to have been made by a king of this dynasty. It is a grant of land by the Rāja of Lāta, a country mentioned in most of the lists of *desas*, but of which the exact locality has not been determined. Professor Wilson, in the second edition of his Dictionary, calls it "the upper part of the Dekhan," and this agrees with the grant in question, from which we learn, that at the period at which it was made there were four kingdoms occupying part of the Dekhan and Hindustan, namely, Gārjara, westward, Mālwa, central, Gaura, eastward, and Lāta, southward; the capital of the last named kingdom was Elapur, founded by Krishna Raya. The date of the grant is A.D. 812, and the princes mentioned in it are, 1. Govind Raja; 2. Karka, his son; 3. Krishna, his son; 4. Dhruva, his son, who died at Allāhābād; 5. Govind II., son of Dhruva; 6. Indra, brother of Govinda; 7. Karka, son of Indra, the author of the grant, whose heir presumptive was Danti Varma, his brother. The date agrees with that of our dynasty, and Mr. Prinsep, by supposing Karka to be the same with Kongani, traces all the above-mentioned princes in the Chera list with the exception of Indra. Independently, however, of the difference between the names Karka and Kongani, supposing them to belong to the same person, the succession of the princes differs entirely from that given in our MSS., in which neither the kingdom of Lāta, nor any of the events recorded in the grant, are noticed. Hence it seems clear that the grant must belong to a different dynasty, ruling over a country far to the north of Chera, the Lāta *desa* being probably situated immediately south of the Nerbadda river.

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
|   | A. D.       |
| The Fifteenth king installed . . . . .          | 366         |
| Nineteenth king installed in . . . . .          | 539         |
| Twenty-second king made a grant in . . . . .    | 669         |
| Twenty-third king made a grant in . . . . .     | 746         |
| Twenty-eighth king made two grants in . . . . . | 878 and 894 |

Reckoning from the earliest of the above dates A.D. 82, to the last A.D. 894, during which twenty-four princes are shown to have reigned, the average length of the reigns would be nearly thirty-four years each, a period longer than the settled principle of such calculations shows to be admissible. We may remark further, the two of these kings (Nos. 12 and 14) ruled only for a short time, and others, as Nos. 11 and 27 abdicated. We must, therefore, endeavour to find some well authenticated date from which we can apply the test of average duration; an approximation to, if not a correct date, seems to be presented in that of the last independent Chera prince of our list, Malla-deva Rāya II. (No. 28).

In the account of this prince, our MSS. relates the building of a temple to Vishnu in A.D. 894, and we must infer from the mention of it, that the transaction took place during the continuance of his authority, and that the Chola conquest was not effected till after that period.

We learn from the Tamil verses which give the boundaries of the kingdom, that a part of Kerala, or Malabar, was subject to the Chera sovereigns, but their authority appears to have been represented by a viceroy. These viceroys seem to have borne the title of "Cheraman Perumal," or viceroy of the Chera sovereign, in which light Mr. Ellis has regarded them<sup>1</sup>. The last of these viceroys revolted from his government and embraced the religion of Islam; this event evidently indicating a decline in the power of his superior happened, as Professor Wilson informs us, in the ninth century<sup>2</sup>, and our MSS. fixes the Chola conquest at the same period, which seems thus far to be borne out.

Mention is made of the religious reformer, Sankarāchārya, in the reign of Tiru Vikrama I., the seventh prince, about A.D. 180, according to the date in our MSS; this statement would give to that reformer a much greater antiquity than is allowed by the best authorities; his era, it is true, has not been conclusively determined, though the concurrent opinion of some of the greatest Oriental scholars places him in

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Mirasi Right*, p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's *M'Kenzie Catalogue*, vol. i., Int., p. xcvii.

the ninth century<sup>1</sup>. It may be remarked, that the MSS. represents Tiru Vikrama I. (No. 7), to have been converted to the faith of Siva by the reformer, and the succeeding monarchs appear to have been votaries of the Hindu deities, some of Siva and others of Vishnu; this would accord with the supposition of the conversion of the king having been the work of Sankarāchārya. It may not be unfair, however, to suppose that the compiler of the MSS. may have placed this reformer in the reign of Tiru Vikrama I., instead of in that of Tiru Vikrama II. (No. 18), according to the favourite practice of native authors assigning the most remote antiquity to their venerated teacher<sup>2</sup>. A calculation on the principle of average length of reign, reckoning back from 894 the date given in our MSS. as that of the last Chera sovereign, would place Tiru Vikrama I. in the sixth, and Tiru Vikrama II. in the eighth century.

Assuming a period nearly corresponding with A.D. 900, as the date of the Chola conquest, we may proceed to check the dates by allowing to each prince a reign of eighteen years, the period usually adopted<sup>3</sup>. The number of Chera princes in our MSS. is twenty-eight<sup>4</sup>, which multiplied by eighteen, gives us five hundred and four years, and this being deducted from A.D. 900, gives the year A.D. 396, as the probable period at which this dynasty arose. The reigns of some of the kings, appearing, as before observed, to have been of short duration, it may be a question whether in this case the allowance of eighteen years is not too much; we may however look upon the year A.D. 400, or more widely the fifth century, as the time indicated by our MSS. for the rise of this dynasty; a period which has received the sanction of Professor Wilson, and in which we have proof of the existence of Chera kings, as an inscription of the Chalukya dynasty dated A.D. 490, refers to the princes of Chera along with the Chola and Pāndya princes<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary, Preface, p. xv.; Asiatic Researches, xvii., p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> See Buchanan's Journey, vol. i., p. 143; ii., p. 74; iii., p. 91 and 301.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis's Mirasi Right, p. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Wilson, in his Catalogue of the MacKenzie Collection, states the number as twenty-six, omitting No. 12, Mādhyama Mahādhi Rāya, and No. 16, Kṛṣṇa Mahādhi Rāya II., and an unnecessary comma has been inserted in the press between Chaturbhūja and Kumara or Kanara deva (No. 4), thus making the actual number of names twenty-seven. (See Catalogue, vol. i., p. 109.) Mr. Taylor has adopted the list with its errors; (Taylor's MSS., vol. ii., p. 64;) as has also Mr. Prinsep, in his Tables, in the latter, however, Raja Malla deva (No. 24), is divided into two names, viz., Rāja Deva and Malla Deva; and Malla Deva II. the last prince is entirely omitted. (Prinsep's Tables, p. 121.)

<sup>5</sup> Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v., p. 343.

WE may now turn our attention to that part of our MSS. which relates to the conquest of Chera by the Chola monarchs, and to the history of those Chola kings who are represented as keeping the Konga and Karnáta *deśas* under their rule.

The great source of the difficulty that we shall encounter in our inquiry, and in comparing our MSS. with other notices of the Chola kings, arises from the indiscriminate use of names and titles. Although the Rev. Mr. Taylor questions the probability of the same king being known by more than one title, we have the authority of Professor Wilson and Mr. W. Elliott for the fact<sup>1</sup>; the MSS. which we are now considering furnishes frequent instances of such double titles<sup>2</sup>, and Mr. Taylor himself, in his *Analysis of the M'Kenzie MSS.*<sup>3</sup>, thus describes one of the documents. "Another list of the Chola princes is given with the explanation of the names; and showing three different names sometimes given to the same individual."

The names given to the Chola princes in our MSS., with the exception of Vira Chola and Deva Ráya, do not, as far as can be discovered, appear in any of the other lists of Chola kings<sup>4</sup>, it would therefore seem probable that the same sovereigns must have been called by different names or titles. Professor Wilson suggests the possibility of Kulottunga and Rajendra being titles of the same person; neither of these names occur in our list, but there seems reason to suppose that Rájendra was a title of the first prince in our list, called Vijaya Ráya Aditya Varma.

With respect to Rajendra, we learn from Mr. Ellis that in the year A.D. 886, the poet Camban presented to a king of Chola of that name, his Tamil translation of the *Rámáyana*<sup>5</sup>; the date 886, it will be observed, is only eight years anterior to the last date given by our MSS. in its annals of the Chera sovereigns; and we have the evidence of a grant to show that Rájendra ruled thirty years<sup>6</sup> at least. A fragment of an inscription preserved by Mr. Ellis, represents a feudatory chieftain of Rájendra ascending the throne of Tondamandalam, in the ninth year of Rájendra's reign, after "having terrified Mallen and taken his elephant and horse;" this "Mallen," Mr. Ellis considers to have been one of the Curumba princes, but adds, that if so, the event must have taken place long before the grant was written<sup>7</sup>; it may therefore be asked whether the "Mallen" referred to was not "Malla deva," the

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *M'Kenzie Catalogue*, vol. i., Int. Lxxxviii., and p. 182; *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv., p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 16, 17, 21, 26 and 30.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> All the lists that have been obtained are given in an Appendix.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis's *Mirasi Right*, p. xlvi.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor's *Analysis of the M'Kenzie Collection*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Ellis's *Mirasi Right*, p. xlv.

last of our Chera kings; the locality of this chieftain as a feudatory prince need not invalidate this supposition, for he may, before his elevation to the government of Tondamandalam, have acted as general of the Chola forces, in the conquest of Chera, in the same manner as our MSS. represents Amra Bhojangan, the Pándya general, to have done in the reign of Ari Vari deva. Camban's date does not enable us to fix that of Rájendra's accession to the Chola throne, but there are reasons for believing it to have been but a short time previous to Camban's presentation of his poem in 886, for Mr. Ellis says he finished his translation in the reign of Rájendra, while a legendary history of the translation<sup>1</sup> represents the author as patronized by Kerikála Chola. It cannot be now shown that Kerikála was Rájendra's immediate predecessor; one list, indeed, places Bhíma Chola<sup>2</sup> between them; if Camban, however, presented his poem soon after Rájendra's accession, the date supplied by that author, the date of our MSS., and the victory over "Mallen" recorded in the above-mentioned inscription, will perfectly coincide.

A list of Chola kings, given in a series of chronological tables in one of the M'Kenzie papers<sup>3</sup>, gives the following in succession.

| No. |                                    | Reigned<br>years. | A. Sal. | A. D. |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| 18. | Vikrama Chola                      | 80                | 749     | 827   |
| 19. | Kulottunga Chola                   | 40                | 789     | 867   |
| 20. | Rájendra Chola                     | 60                | 849     | 927   |
| 21. | Vira Chola                         | 50                | 899     | 977   |
| 22. | Vishnu Varma, or<br>Vishnu Bellala | 41                | 940     | 1018  |
| 23. | Deva Bellala, or<br>Deva Pullan    | 40                | 980     | 1058  |
| 24. | Hrudia? Pullan                     | 40                | 1020    | 1098  |

In speaking of Rájendra, this MSS. refers to Camban's presentation of his poem in A.D. 886, thus offering corroborative proof of the time of Rájendra's reign. We find also three of the above names in the same order, in "a poetical account of the actions of Vikrama, Kulottunga and Rájendra Chola<sup>4</sup>," which shows that so far this succession was received by other Hindu authors.

But whatever weight may be attached to the foregoing observations, there are other reasons for believing that Rájendra was the

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. i., p. 163.      <sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> "Varalar, &c.," in Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. ii. clvi., No. 24. See Appendix, No. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. i., p. 196.

conqueror of Chera, and also for upholding as correct the era assigned to him. Professor Wilson says, "Rājendra Chola appears to have been a very distinguished member of the dynasty, and his inscriptions describe him as victor over the Pāndyan and Chera princes and those of Utkala and Virāt. He is said even to have undertaken maritime aggressions, and embarking on board ship to have subdued Yelanki, or Ceylon, Kalinga, or the northern part of the Coromandel coast, Gaur and Bengal. These are no doubt exaggerations, but they leave it likely that Rājendra was a prince of more power than any Chola monarch could have enjoyed after the Yādava and Bellāla Rajas had the ascendancy, and this consideration confirms his living in the ninth century<sup>1</sup>." The short notice of Vijaya Rāya Aditya in our MSS., might appear inconsistent with the character of a great conqueror exhibited in the foregoing quotation, but allowing for possible exaggeration in the latter, the differences will be found to consist rather in omissions than in contradictions, for notwithstanding the meagreness of the information supplied by our MSS. with respect to the Chola conqueror of Chera, it is clear that he must have been a very powerful prince, though all that the compiler seems to have deemed worthy of mention, is the conquest of Chera and Kurnāta, and the charitable grants made there, holding all other conquests of this prince unworthy of notice in an account of Chera. At any rate the omission cannot be deemed to contradict the inscriptions, nor to disprove the identity of Rājendra and Vijaya Rāya Aditya, whose date, and consequently that of the subjugation of Chera by the Chola monarchs, may therefore be readily admitted to have been the end of the ninth century.

Of Vīra Chola or Vīra Chola Nārāyana (No. 30 in our MSS.), we have a grant dated in the ninth year of his reign, in which he is styled Vīra Chola Vīra Nārāyana, thus confirming the statement of our MSS. with respect to his title, "that, being a zealous follower of Vishnu, he was called Nārāyana." Of the two following kings, namely, Dāsoditya and Purandaka, no traces can be elsewhere discovered; we have a grant dated in the twentieth year of "Deva Rāja Chola," which name is no doubt identical with the Divya Rāya of our MSS. (No. 32).<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Ellis presents us with a grant of "Tribhūvana Vīra Deva Chola," whom he states, "following a tolerably correct list of the Chola kings," to have been the thirty-eighth prince of the line, and fifth in succession from Rājendra; of this Tribhūvana Vīra Deva Chola there are many other grants extant in the M'Kenzie Collection of inscriptions. This grant has been assigned to "Vīra Chola<sup>3</sup>" (No. 30), but

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, p. lxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. at East India House.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vol. i., p. 161.



there seems to be good reason for giving it to Ari Vari deva (No. 34). It must be observed, that the thirtieth king is called in our list Vira Chola and Vira Chola Nārāyana, and as before-mentioned we have notice of a grant in which he is known by the latter title; the word "deva" nowhere occurs in connection with his name; but in Ari Vari deva we have it distinctly, the name Ari Vari being possibly a different appellation, or a wrong rendering of "Hari Vira." This grant of Tribhuvana Vira-deva Chola informs us, that he "triumphed over the crowned head of Pāndya," this could hardly apply to the Vira Chola (No. 30) of our list, for it may be inferred from the remark of our MSS., which says, "he and the Pāndya Rāja both conquered many desas," that Vira Chola was in alliance with the Pāndya king; the statement, however, is perfectly applicable to Ari Vari deva. The Vira deva of the grant, was according to Mr. Ellis, fifth in succession from Rājendra, and Ari Vari deva is in our MSS. fifth in succession from Vijaya Rāya Aditya, whom we have endeavoured to identify with Rājendra. If the list upon which Mr. Ellis stated that Vira deva was the fifth prince after Rājendra be correct, the date of the grant will also agree with the era of Ari Vari deva; it is dated in the thirty-seventh year of the reign, and Mr. Ellis, reckoning at the rate of eighteen years for each of the four kings intervening between Rājendra and Vira deva, and adding the total to A.D. 886, the date of Rājendra as given by Camban, places Vira deva's accession in A.D. 958; adding to that thirty-seven years for the grant, we arrive at A.D. 995. In this calculation, Mr. Ellis has allowed no time to Rājendra after Camban's presentation of his poem in 886, but as we have evidence from a grant that Rājendra reigned thirty years, and as Camban appears, as before observed, to have presented his poem shortly after Rājendra's accession to the Chola throne, it will not be unreasonable that, placing the time which Rājendra may be supposed to have reigned after the grant, dated in the thirtieth year of his reign, against that which had elapsed before the date given by Camban, we should add the whole thirty years of Rājendra's grant to this calculation, which will bring us down to 1025; and Ari Vari Deva, as will be presently shown, died in 1058.

Two important inscriptions of the Chalukya dynasty, procured by Mr. Walter Elliot, and described in the Society's Journal<sup>1</sup>, throw some light upon the portion of our MSS. which relates to Ari Vari deva. These inscriptions are dated Sal. 981 and 993 (A.D. 1059 and 1071); the first is a grant by the Chalukya sovereign, Someswara I., who is styled "the Narendra of the Chola race," of some lands at Savanur to his general upon the latter's returning from a successful attack upon

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv., p. 13.

the Chola kingdom; the general is styled the humbler, among other persons and places, of Bhujānga. The second inscription, which explains the reason of the attack upon the Chola dominions, mentioned in the first inscription, is a grant to a new temple at Pulikara nagara, now Lakmeswara; the former temple is said to have been destroyed along with many other Jaina temples, by "the outcast Pandi Chol, who had forsaken his usual course, and left off practising the virtue of his race," in an invasion which he made upon the Belavel desa, or level lands of Karnāta, belonging to the Chalukya monarch; it also informs us, that he was afterwards defeated and killed by the Chalukya forces. This attack upon the Chalukya dominions, is evidently part of the expedition which our MSS. attributes to Ari Vari deva, and the Bhujānga, who was conquered, is clearly the Amra Bhojānga of our MSS. general of the Chola forces, who is stated to have come over to that king from the Pándya ruler; this circumstance, and the amity which existed in the latter part of Ari Vari's reign between the Pándya and Chola kings, may have led to the latter being called in the above cited inscription "Pandi Chol." The Chola monarch who was killed, appears from the inscriptions to have been he who made the attack, and as the inscription which first records the victory is dated 1059, we must place the death of Ari Vari deva in A.D. 1058. Our MSS. assigns no reason for not continuing the history of the Chola kings after Ari Vari deva, but commences immediately upon the Bellāla dynasty; the loss of the Chera and Karnāta desas, was undoubtedly the cause of this cessation in its notice of the Chola Rājas, and these inscriptions satisfactorily account for the loss.

Our MSS. mentions a grant by Ari Vari deva in A.D. 1004, which would show him to have reigned fifty-four years, if we are right in placing his death in 1058; his reign, as shown by the grant of "Vira deva," and the magnitude of his expeditions, must certainly have been a long one.

Considering then the year A.D. 1058, as conclusively determined to be that of Ari Vari's death, we may endeavour to measure the others by it, with the view to ascertain the time of the conquest of Chera by the Chola kings; reckoning backwards from A.D. 1058, and allowing

|  | Years.          |
|--|-----------------|
| To Vira deva (Ari Vari deva) according to his grant . . . . .  | 37              |
| To Divya Rāya from his grant . . . . .   | 20              |
| To Rājendra according to his grant thirty years after Cam-<br>ban's dato 886, leaving for his reign after A.D. 900 . . . . . | 16              |
| And eighteen years to each of the other three kings . . . . .  | 54              |
| Total  | <hr/> 127 <hr/> |

This total being deducted from 1058, leaves A.D. 931 as the date of the conquest. But when we consider that in the above calculation we have allowed to two of the kings (viz., Ari Vari deva and Divya Ráya), no time after the dates of their grants, though the former is supposed to have reigned fifty-four years; and further, when the adjustment of points so corroborated, rests on average calculation, and we refer to the length of reign assigned by the chronological list, quoted from the M'Kenzie MSS. to three of the above kings (viz., Rájendra, Vira Chola, and Divya Ráya); we may without much risk allow the thirty-one years to be distributed among the six kings, and thus place the conquest in A.D. 900. Such an addition, although it would make the average duration of their reigns above that which is usual, will, nevertheless, not render it extravagant nor unparalleled. The reigns of the Bellála kings give, upon the whole, an average of nearly thirty years to a reign.

Our MSS. informs us, that Vira Chola (No. 30), conquered the Rajah of Ceylon; and Mr. Ellis's grant says, that Vira deva Chola (or, as we suppose, Ari Vari deva No. 34), triumphed over "Madura, Izham, Caruvúr and the crowned head of Pándyan;" Izham being a Tamil name of Ceylon. Various attacks upon Ceylon are recorded in the Bauddha annals of the island, as given to us by the Hon. G. Turnour, in his "Epitome of the History of Ceylon;" in this work, one invasion by the Chola forces is placed about A.D. 990, and another in A.D. 1059; but the very scanty notice which our MSS. supplies upon this point, does not enable us to decide satisfactorily when, and by whom, these invasions were made; we may however readily admit that expeditions against Ceylon were undertaken by one or more of the Chola monarchs recorded in our MSS.

From the preceding notices we learn with tolerable certainty, that a race of kings ruled the country of Chera from a very early age, and during several centuries; that though the earliest date to which we can consistently trace the recorded dynasty be the fourth or fifth century, we learn from Ptolemy that the kingdom had existence in the first; and the appellation of Vedar Rajas, or huntsmen, given in our MSS. to the line whose last monarch was vanquished by the Chola king, Vijaya Ráya Aditya Varma, would suggest that although the royal annals do not go so far back, the dynasty who were extinguished by the Chola monarchs in the tenth century, were a race of aboriginal princes who ruled the country before the invasions from the north. That at no very advanced period they added a considerable portion of ancient Karnáta to their dominions, and resided at Tálakád in that desa.

That about the year A.D. 900, or a little later, their possessions were conquered and annexed to the Chola dominions, under which dynasty they continued for upwards of a century until A.D. 1058. That the Chola princes must, during the subjugation of these countries to their rule, have been very powerful; their neighbour, the Pándya king, appears to have held his throne towards the end of the period, most probably as a tributary prince. That they undertook maritime aggressions upon the island of Ceylon, and that they carried their arms a considerable distance to the northward of Chola, is clear from the Chalukya inscriptions, which represent them as destroying the Jaina temples at Lakmeswar<sup>1</sup>. Their attack upon the dominions of the Chalukya princes professing the Jaina faith, and the destruction of the Jaina temples, appears to have aroused both political and religious feelings against them, and to have led to an attack upon them by the Chalukya dynasty, which ended in the death of the Chola king, and the loss of those districts which form the subject of the present paper. The cessation of any notice in our MSS. of the Chola monarchs after Ari Vari deva is sufficient to satisfy us that he was the last Chola king who governed the Chera and Karnáta desas; and the Chalukya inscriptions clearly point out the reason for the loss of those countries, which our MSS. had left unexplained.

The confusion which must necessarily have followed such a signal victory as the Chalukya inscriptions commemorate, led to a total disregard of any superior power by the chieftains of the Chera and Karnáta desas; for the continuation of our MSS. informs us, that those provinces were in the "possession of Poligars, who lately were paying tribute to the Chola Rajas:" such a state of things was not likely nor destined to last long, for a dynasty arose from the anarchy, which ruled the centre of the peninsula for two centuries and upwards; this was the Bollála or Hoyisála dynasty, the founder of which appears to have established himself at Tálakád, and although considerable opposition would seem to have been given to him, his power became pretty firmly established in a few years, for we have a grant of this dynasty dated A.D. 1069<sup>2</sup>. Karnáta and part of the Chera desa were the chief possessions of this line of princes.

<sup>1</sup> Lakmeswar is a little to the south-west of Dharwar, in the southern Mahratta country.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. i., Int. p. cix.

## APPENDIX.

NOTE.—*In the following lists the original orthography has been retained.*

1. List of Chera Kings from "The Vamsavali, or Genealogical Account of the Dynasties of the Chola, the Chera, and the Pandya Kings." Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. ii., p. exxviii., No. 1.

It gives first a list of thirty rajas who lived in the first ages of the world, and then the following list of those who reigned in the Kali age.

- |                                       |                               |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Austaya Pauttora Cheran.           | 10. Teerka Yauttaura.         |
| 2. Yannutho Pauttora Cheran.          | 11. Teerta Chatta Chorau.     |
| 3. Vamsa Paripaulaka Pauttora Cheran. | 12. Auchoota Pratapa.         |
| 4. Mungalakauma Pauttora Cheran.      | 13. Aucondita Creety Pratapa. |
| 5. Seevadurma Mottark.                | 14. Vira Rajendra.            |
| 6. Seelana.                           | 15. Bhimeswara.               |
| 7. Seevapava.                         | 16. Neroomala Sakara.         |
| 8. Sindoo Lauraney.                   | 17. Punjaustara.              |
| 9. Yalavajana Sumrastaka.             | 18. Jeeva Pautaka.            |
|                                       | 19. Tiroomunja.               |
|                                       | 20. Kylasatta Audunga.        |

2. List of Chola Kings from the same paper; forty-eight ruled before the Kali age, and the following eighteen after.

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Poonderick Cholan.     | 10. Sansara Soodumny Cholan. |
| 2. Neelama Chamala vurna. | 11. Nauga logan Conda.       |
| 3. Daunavaraur.           | 12. Audakeswara.             |
| 4. Bhoopaurum Titta.      | 13. Cunceupautarumen.        |
| 5. Poovel Vunda.          | 14. Cuncoodaumany.           |
| 6. Punna Sabiya Cara.     | 15. Woottoorocau.            |
| 7. Pauracoorumma.         | 16. Sattooroo Staya.         |
| 8. Manoomeely Yetta.      | 17. Creemeccutta.            |
| 9. Chuntra Cooladhi.      | 18. Caunpraya.               |

3. List of Chola Kings from a "Varalar, or Chronological Account of the Kings of the Kali Yug." Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. ii., p. clvi., No. 24.

|                 | Reign. | Sal. |                     | Reign. | Sal.   |
|-----------------|--------|------|---------------------|--------|--------|
| 1. Kerikala     |        |      | 5. Siddi Bhoopala . | 21     | 77     |
| 2. Mandurantaka |        |      | 6. Toyabeema .      | 30     | 107    |
| 3. Poowa Chola  |        |      | 7. Tommasiddoo .    |        | 112    |
| 4. Pedda Chola  | 7      | 56   |                     |        | to 178 |

|                        | Reign. | Sal. |                              | Reign. | Sal. |
|------------------------|--------|------|------------------------------|--------|------|
| 8. Teranda Cholan      | 20     | 198  | 19. Culottunga               | 40     | 789  |
| 9. Keleganda           | 21     | 219  | 20. Rajendra (son-in-        |        |      |
| 10. Chinna Pellana     | 40     | 259  | law)                         | 60     | 849  |
| 11. Matwa Maha Raja    | 40     | 299  | 21. Vira Chola               | 50     | 899  |
| 12. Deva Chola         | 60     | 359  | 22. Vishnu Varma, or         |        |      |
| 13. Mumedyganda Chola, |        |      | Vishnu Bellala               | 41     | 940  |
| alias Trigasy          |        |      | 23. Deva Bellala, or         |        |      |
| Raja                   | 50     | 409  | Pullan                       | 40     | 980  |
| 14. Raja Caserce       | 70     | 479  | 24. Hrudia Pullan            | 40     | 1020 |
| 15. Cheren Chola       | 80     | 559  | 25. Jayasinha                | 51     | 1071 |
| 16. Pudma Caserce      | 50     | 609  | 26. Chundrasinha             | 38     | 1109 |
| 17. Rajadi Raja        | 60     | 669  | 27. Neelakunta               | 40     | 1109 |
| 18. Vikrama            | 80     | 749  | "Then commenced the Rayars." |        |      |

4. List of Chola Râjas procured from a village Accountant, by Mr. Buchanan. Buchanan's Journey, vol. iii., p. 472. Prinsep's Tables, No. XL., p. 119.

|                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Utinga Sholun.                 | 15. Jeyum Canda Sholun.     |
| 2. Culatunga Sholun.              | 16. Kiriimi Canda Sholun.   |
| 3. Rajendra Sholun.               | 17. Toudaman Sholun.        |
| 4. Tiramudi Canda Sholun.         | 18. Buddum Cuttum Sholun.   |
| 5. Carical Sholun.                | 19. Shomuman Sholun.        |
| 6. Arundavan Sholun.              | 20. Ghingui Conda Sholun.   |
| 7. Womyuru Sholun.                | 21. Sundra Pandia Sholun.   |
| 8. Shayngun Sholun.               | 22. Pottapu Sholun.         |
| 9. Munalinda Sholun.              | 23. Shingu Wullanda Sholun. |
| 10. Mavanedi Canda Sholun.        | 24. Deva Sholun.            |
| 11. Vacula Sholun.                | 25. Shaynahutti Sholun.     |
| 12. Alaperinda Sholun.            | 26. Vira Sholun.            |
| 13. Tiraverata Sholun.            | 27. Shayngaru Sholun.       |
| 14. Arleunu Cadama Canday Sholun. |                             |

"Total of the Sholun Rajas 27, who reigned 534 years."

5. From the Chola Mahatmya. Wilson's M'Kenzie Collection, vol. i., p. 181. Prinsep's Tables, XLiii., p. 121<sup>1</sup>.

|               | Reigned. |                | Reigned. |
|---------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| 1. Kulotunga  | 90       | 3. Sasisekhara | 70       |
| 2. Deva Chola | 60       | 4. Siva linga  | 87       |

<sup>1</sup> The years of their reigns are added from a MSS. translation of the original document. Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. ii., p. cxxviii. No. 14.

|                           | Reigned. |                    | Reigned. |
|---------------------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| 5. Vira . . .             | 87       | 11. Vijaya . . .   | 66       |
| 6. Kerikála . . .         | 90       | 12. Kanaka . . .   | 70       |
| 7. Bhíma . . .            | 70       | 13. Sundara . . .  | 60       |
| 8. Rájarañendra . . .     | 78       | 14. Kalakala . . . | 70       |
| 9. Viramártanda . . .     | 66       | 15. Kalyána . . .  | 54       |
| 10. Kírttivarddhana . . . | 77       | 16. Bhadra . . .   | 70       |

6. The "Chola desa Párvika Cheritra," Wilson's Catalogue, vol. i., p. 187, says there were forty-four princes, but does not give them. It makes Kulottunga the last of the forty-four, and a contemporary of Kamban. The list of sixteen is noticed, and a Pattira Chola is given as the last prince of that line.

7. Chola Kings mentioned in the "Supplementary MSS." Taylor's Historical MSS., vol. i., p. 197.

Parakirama Soren, reigned thirty years.

Kulottunga, his son, forty years.

Panjala, his son, thirty-five years.

Loga retshaga, his son, thirty years.

The first obtained Chola by conquest from Pandya, the last lost it again.

8. Princes mentioned in the "Madura Sthala puranam." Taylor's Historical MSS., vol. i., p. 73, 80, 96; ii. p. 69.

Kerikala, contemporary with Rajasekhara Pándyan.

Kadu Vettiya, contemporary with Kulopushana and Rajendra Pándyan.

Vikrama, contemporary with Vamsa Sekhara Pándyan.

9. Taylor's Analysis of the M'Kenzie Collection, p. 130. From "An Account of the Chola Rajas."

Vayal Varzi Aditta Cholan.

Kribala Cholan.

Suba Cholan.

Vithi Vidangam, entitled Bhú-pála Cholan, or Curi Canda Cholan.

Varaguna Cholan.

Pugerh Cholan.

10. From the "Appendix to Taylor's Analysis," p. 135.

Uttunga Cholan.

Ala peranta Cholan.

Kulottunga Cholan.

Vara-guna Cholan.

Tirumudi Cholan.

Ala peranta Cholan.

Aruntapa Cholan.

Ariloru kadammí kondai Cholan.

Rajendra Cholan.

Anautana Cholan.

Manunithi Cholan.

Cadu-vetti Cholan.

11. Another list of twenty-three kings is mentioned in 'Taylor's Analysis, p. 135, but not given; the last of the race is said to have been Cari Cala Cholan.

12. List of Chola Rajas, from "The Rajas of the Four Ages." Wilson's M'Kenzie Catalogue, vol. ii., p. cxxix., No. 28.

| Reigned.                |    | Reigned.                |    |
|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
| 1. Rajendra . . .       | 71 | 10. Swarna Chola . . .  | 20 |
| 2. Madava Miduna . . .  | 31 | 11. Vootoonga . . .     | 21 |
| 3. Pandava Chol . . .   | 60 | 12. Teeranoota . . .    | 21 |
| 4. Vira Chol . . .      | 51 | 13. Tarenda . . .       | 41 |
| 5. Deva Chola . . .     | 29 | 14. Teeroomaragunda . . | 19 |
| 6. Chenneca . . .       | 40 | 15. Marconda . . .      | 45 |
| 7. Voow Pandia . . .    | 30 | 16. Vorayoor . . .      | 20 |
| 8. Culottunga . . .     | 41 | 17. Caricall . . .      | 41 |
| 9. Tondaman Chakravarti | 60 | 18. Raja Cholan . . .   | 53 |

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